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AUTHOR Szasz, Margaret Connell
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ABSTRACT

The school experience of American Indian and Alaska Native children hinges on the context in which their schooling takes place. This context includes the health and well-being of their families, communities, and governments, as well as the relationship between Native and non-Native people. Many Native children are in desperate straits because of the immense difficulties facing their families and communities. Native peoples suffer the highest unemployment and poverty rates in the United States. Low economic status leads to poor self-concept among Native children, and high unemployment forces those who complete schooling to leave their communities to find work. With limited access to health care, alcoholism and other forms of substance abuse, fetal alcohol syndrome, depression, and suicide are widespread in Native communities. Nevertheless, the budget of the Indian Health Service has remained constant for 10 years. Many Native children attend schools that discredit their cultural heritage and damage their self-esteem and motivation. What is needed in schools are culturally relevant curriculum, cross-cultural training for non-Native teachers, and increased participation by parents and community members. The gap between schools and Native communities must be narrowed so that Native students see the school as an extension of their cultural bonds. Tribal governments must become active partners in education. Specific recommendations are offered for rural, reservation, and urban Native communities. This paper contains 117 references. (SV)

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Current Conditions in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

Margaret Connell Szasz

Abstract

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The school experience of American Indian and Alaska Native children hinges on the health and well-being of their families, their communities, their governments, and the relationship between Native and non-Native people. Improved economic conditions rely on partnerships between Native communities and state/federal governments, private business, as well as urban universities, but economic health also relies on improved technical training programs in rural/reservation areas, and in urban environments, especially for Native adults. Natives must control their own natural resources. Native communities across the nation are establishing wellness centers and substance abuse recovery centers that are consistent with their cultural heritage. The Indian Health Service needs to become accountable and equitable in its programs. In their homes, communities, schools, in their reading material and through the media, Native children must learn that their cultures are valid. They must be treated with respect. Responsibility for this validation lies with teachers, who should be educated about the cultures of their pupils, and with parent and Elder participation in education. Tribally Controlled Colleges also play an important role in validating cultures and providing economic training; they should be adequately funded. Urban universities should reach out to Native communities; faculty and other scholars should present accurate portrayals of Native people. Since Native role models can inspire the children of their communities, Native governments should expand scholarships and provide incentives for graduates to return. Native people are striving to improve all of these conditions; they are reaching within and finding resources.

The School experience of American Indian and Alaska Native children hinges on the health of their families, communities, and Native governments, as well as the relationship between Native and non-Native people. As those surrounding entities thrive, so too will these children thrive in their schools. As those entities suffer, so too will those children reflect that suffering in school and beyond school. For Native children, the best school programs and the most understanding teachers cannot relieve the impact of dysfunctional families; alcoholism and other forms of substance abuse; poverty; diabetes, fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS), and other health problems; and an ambivalence toward their unique cultural heritage. Five centuries after contact with the outside world, many Native children are in desperate straits because of the immense difficulties that hinder their families and communities. They will continue to be dropouts or "pushouts" until these conditions within their communities improve and the non-Native world gains some understanding of Native people. A member of the Yakima Indian Nation concluded: "Today, for people to grow up in dysfunctional and traumatic environments, the chances are substantially increased for becoming chronically depressed, suicidal, alcoholic, drug-dependent and having a poor self-esteem . . . For many Indian children today, the educational environment may be the only stability and security they know" (Seattle Hearing, Martin, 1990, p. 2).

These issues are urgent: Native children are at risk. The future of American Indians and Alaska Natives is a precarious one. An Alaska Native testified in Juneau: "We are working as hard as we can to rebuild and to heal ourselves, but we need help. We DESPERATELY NEED HELP!" (Juneau Hearing, Armstrong, 1990, p. 30). It is time to spell out a blueprint for action. Another Alaska Native testified, "Our grandchildren are at a greater and greater risk unless drastic action is taken," (Juneau Hearing, Wulf-Shircel, 1992, p. 13). This paper, therefore, will focus on plans for action that will encourage Native children and their communities to realize their full potential in schooling through internal improvements within Native communities and external improvements in relations between Native and non-Native societies. Since the subject of this paper is so broad, I have divided it into several sections, each of which is also viewed from different angles. The basic sections are: economic conditions, health, cultural heritage, and the relationship between components of Native societies, family, community, government and schooling, as well as between Native communities and the outside world. Within each section, I will look at specific recommendations for rural and reservation communities and for urban Native communities.

Economic Conditions in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

An education administrator writes from the Devils Lake Sioux Reservation: "The Task Force needs to take a realistic look at issues that are suppressing the education process outside the school" (INAR Northern Plains Regional Public Hearing, Trottier, 1990, p. 3). One of the critical issues is economic conditions. If the general public bears any impressions of Native people, it generally falls into two categories: Native warriors living on the Great Plains in the nineteenth century; and impoverished Natives living on reservations in the twentieth century. Both are images largely created by the media, ranging from late-nineteenth-century dime novels to contemporary television and newspapers. The reality, which is seldom broadcast to the public, is far more complex.

Since the hundreds of Native communities incorporate tremendous diversity, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to generalize about economic conditions within these communities. Under most circumstances, however, and especially among reservation communities, Native people suffer from the highest unemployment rates and greatest poverty conditions in the United States. Robert C. Posner characterizes reservation economies by comparing them with third world countries. On some reservations the average family income is as low as nine hundred dollars a year. A Native testifying in San Diego pointed out that in her community 60 to 80 percent of the people are unemployed. She added: "We live in poverty every day" (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Dropout Prevention, San Diego, 1990, p. 2). In some rural Native communities fewer than ten percent of the population is employed. Under these circumstances Native economies are unable to provide members with resources or activities that generate the basic necessities.

Where these conditions dominate the environment, Natives fear the impact on their children. Our children, a Squaxin testified in Seattle, are "our most precious resource" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Johns, 1990, p. 22). Yet it is the children who suffer and despair under the pervasive poverty. Commenting on economic conditions in the Yakima Indian Nation, a Yakima observed: "Employment is so limited on the reservation. What will these kids do? If we educate them, then they must leave the reservation in order to survive" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Hoptowit, 1990, p. 61).

Those youth who remain on their reservations carry the low self-esteem linked with poverty into their schools. Explaining how this affects Tohono O'odham children on the Papago reservation, a Tohono O'odham testified in Phoenix: "due to the problems of poverty, alcoholism, and isolation, a majority of Indian students do not believe that they have the ability to learn as much as they are capable of" (INAR Southwest Regional Public Hearing, Mason, 1990, p. 27). Conditions at Tohono O'odham in southern Arizona are not unique. A member of the Colville Federated Tribes, who also serves as Secretary of the Nespelem District Johnson O'Malley (JOM) Program Parent Committee, reinforced this position. "The Colville Indian children of this area," she said, "are entering schools with a low esteem of their families, as well as their communities" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Aripa, 1990, p. 50). She noted that 69 percent of the Colville members are unemployed. Nor is the link between negative self-image and economic status restricted to rural and reservation Native communities. The Chicago panel of Public School Finance concluded that success in school is directly related to family income, noting that the 1980 United States census reported Indians as the poorest group in the city, with 40 percent at or below the poverty level (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Eichhorn, 1990, p. 44).

The issue that needs to be addressed, therefore, is not whether poverty has a strong influence on Native youth: its pervasive influence is a well-documented reality. The question that plagues Native people is: what are some solutions that will enable them to support their families without drastic cultural changes in their way of life? In the decade of the 1980s, a number of Native communities, as well as individuals, were searching for those solutions.

In the rural and reservation communities, solutions evolve around: improved vocational training, economic role models, strengthening of Tribally Controlled Community Colleges, and increasing of economic ties between Native governments, groups, and individuals and other forms of government and institutions.

Native students who graduate from high school in reservation communities often receive little training to prepare them for employment on the reservation even though many of them remain there when they have graduated from high school. Those who do move away to attend universities or other post-secondary school often receive training that prepares them only for off-reservation jobs or professions. Hence, they are not able to contribute

their skills to their Native communities; nor are they able to serve as role models for Native children growing up on the reservation. In recent decades, this dilemma has become increasingly acute. I would urge that Native communities work toward developing institutions in reservation and rural areas that provide technical training for their youth that will enable them to earn a living within this familiar environment. Institutions that are setting the pace for this type of training include United Tribes Technical College in Bismarck, North Dakota; Lummi Community College, Ferndale, Washington; the Eight Northern Pueblos Council-Employment and Training Program, New Mexico; the (Navajo Nation) Crownpoint Institute of Technology; Sinte Gleska College, Rosebud, South Dakota; and the vocational program of the Sac and Fox Nations, Oklahoma. The director of the Sac and Fox Nations program described the 77 students who had received certificates in 1989. "These people wanted to get an education," he recalled, "but they were scared. Most of [them] were 25 or 26 years old and when they came in, they could not hold their heads up. They were not even able to present themselves to their friends and neighbors," he added. "How could they possibly present themselves to an employer? We taught these students to stand up for themselves. At the end we had an award ceremony and it was amazing to see the difference in students as they displayed self-confidence." He concluded: "We need more Indian education programs to instill confidence and show people they can go out and get what they want" (INAR Plains Regional Public Hearings, Anderson, 1990, p. 23). Training for Natives in reservation and rural communities is crucial for these communities if they want to retain their youth. Providing them with skills, such as the aquaculture economic base pioneered by the Lummi Tribe during the last two decades, will strengthen that goal. As indicated by some of the examples, key development can be tied into expansion of the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges through significant funding increases to those institutions by Congress.

Native youth who receive their education in urban areas and return to their reservations can serve as important role models. A number of those individuals who testified at the Task Force regional hearings in the Summer and Fall of 1990 suggested that Native students who received scholarship funds from their Native governments or other sources owed a debt to their people that could be repaid only if they returned and devoted at least part of their career to their own communities. A Navajo woman attorney who has

served her people in a number of positions, including that of Attorney General for the Navajo Nation, exemplifies this concept. She concludes: "I believe when you are blessed you are obligated to give back . . . I had a good education and wanted to put it to work to help Indian people." Thus, she has spent her life "working with and for Indian people." Would it be possible or feasible for Native governments to adapt this philosophy for the scholarships that they provide for Native youth who receive their education in urban institutions?

This suggestion could be strengthened if additional universities would develop agreements with Native governments or groups for economic development. Universities establishing a precedent in this area of economic cooperation include Northern Arizona University, which has agreements with the Hopi Tribe and the Navajo Nation, South Dakota State University and the University of Minnesota, which have cooperated with the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux on farm planning; and several universities that have cooperated with the Lakota Produce Growers, Inc., an innovative venture begun in the early 1980s by Oglala "who have an interest in growing their own food." Major universities located within the radius of Native communities should, I believe, accept as one of their responsibilities the negotiating of agreements to assist Native governments and groups in economic planning. In like fashion, various levels of government, including city, state, and federal, also should be urged to expand previous agreements or introduce new ones. The trend of the decade of the 1980s, which saw the encouragement of private business and industry negotiations with Native governments, such as the successful negotiations between the White River Apache and the McDonnell Douglas Helicopter Company, may well continue, but it should not preclude additional agreements between Native and outside governments, such as negotiations between the State of Wisconsin and the Anishenabe (Chippewa), that led to a cooperative wild rice reseeding project in 1990. At the National Symposium on Native American Enterprise Zone Development held in the spring of 1990, it was pointed out that some creative approaches to reservation economic development have come into being in the 1980s. These include the Seventh Generation Fund, a Native-run foundation based in California that promotes small-scale development to Native reservation businesses.

Frank Pommersheim argues that "too often in the past, the question of what economic development is needed in Indian country has yielded very specific 'answers,' such as the massive leasing of

tribal natural resources, capital intensive manufacturing, or large-scale agribusiness ventures." In *Indian Self-Rule* Philip S. Deloria adds: "The basic issue that Indians face is are we going to use our own resources, or is somebody else going to use them?" He concludes: "The answer, for the last two hundred years, has been very clear. Somebody else is going to use our resources." The issues, therefore, evolve around the question of Native control, but even within this context there are no simple answers.

Increasing economic development on reservations has created a difficult pattern of choices for many Native communities. Some Native governments, such as Laguna Pueblo of New Mexico, believe there are distinct advantages to establishing Native industries on reservations. Recently, Laguna has formed Laguna Industries Inc., a manufacturing plant, as well as Laguna Construction Company, which will undertake the reclamation of the uranium mines that closed in the early 1980s. Proponents of these ventures argue that even though it means the workers may have to change their ways, "that's the way it's going to be if you're going to live here." On the other hand, traditionalists remain concerned that development will counter their values. The question of introducing Bingo on reservation lands symbolizes these antagonisms. As the governor of one New Mexico Pueblo concluded: "Personally I don't believe in unearned money," but as "a business venture," this governor has accepted it. Proposals for reservations to serve as sites to store conventional garbage or toxic waste raise further divisions among Native communities. In early 1990 the Campo Band of Mission Indians, located east of San Diego, was considering a proposal by San Diego to store the city's waste. Once again, the issue evolved around the polarized positions of the need for income thrust against the impact on the environment and the culture. The Native-run Seventh Generation Fund maintains that development on Native lands must be "environmentally and culturally sensitive," but increasing conflict over these considerations suggests this advice is merely one position in the wide array of Native rural and reservation economic decisions.

Urban Natives face similar conflicts between retention of cultural values and working in jobs that appear to go against the grain of those values. Some have resolved the conflict by working with the Native community, either in job-related employment or as a volunteer. The extraordinarily active Native communities in cities such as Minneapolis or Seattle have an enormous task ahead of them in encouraging adult education for urban

Native dropouts or "pushouts." Yet the economic results forecast by Gary D. Sandefur and Wilbur J. Scott make the challenge a crucial one. Sandefur and Scott argue that "the single most effective measure for improving the wages of Indians relative to those of whites would be to increase the proportion of Indians who continue their education beyond high school." Funding is an ongoing, crucial theme for the urban centers and programs that offer Adult Basic Education (ABE) and other adult training for urban Native people. Flourishing programs in this critical area for urban Native adults include centers in Minneapolis and Seattle. The American Indian Opportunities Industrialization Training Center (AIOIC) in Minneapolis, founded in 1979, formed as a response to high unemployment among Native people, and has provided training for over 3,000 Natives. The Seattle Indian Center, one of many important Native urban centers across the United States, offers ABE and GED preparation classes as survival skills for the 40 to 60 percent of urban Native people in Washington who are unemployed. Relying heavily on volunteer help, along with aid from other institutions, such as community colleges, and businesses, the Seattle Center, like other centers in urban America, has been hard hit by budget cuts. Yet its services are crucial, as the testimony suggested: "Those students who study for the GED exams often are experiencing for the first time instructors who are Native American themselves, and who truly acknowledge that they are intelligent human beings who are capable of learning and deserve to be treated with dignity and respect. For many, this is a new concept, but the test scores speak for themselves and validate the intelligence and capabilities of the Native American adult learner" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Egawa, 1990, p. 48).

Health Conditions in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

American Indians and Alaska Natives are people dominated by their youth. The birth rate of Native people in the mid-1980s was 27.9 per thousand or a rate that was 79 percent greater than the birth rate for the "U.S. All Races" population. In many Native communities children and youth are about one-half of the population. Their promise as leaders of the future must not be diminished by the severe health problems that characterize both urban and rural and reservation Native youth.

How Native children respond in school is a reflection of their health, as well as the health of their families and communities. As a Native testified at the San Diego Joint Issues Session on Dropout Prevention, "Health is a big consideration. Some students arrive at school hungry and cold, or both. The socioeconomic conditions in communities are devastating right now for our kids in schools, and this is nothing new to our people" (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Dropout Prevention, San Diego, p. 4). The historical roots for contemporary Native health reach deeply into the past. The present health conditions of Native children spring from the centuries of interaction between their ancestors and the immigrants to America. As Roland J. Lamarine concluded in "The Dilemma of Native American Health," "An examination of Native American health problems inevitably leads to the conclusion that for Native Americans, the biggest problem is the majority culture." The combination of disease, military defeat, removal, alienation of the land base, and cultural oppression has led to a heritage of overwhelming economic and psychological barriers for contemporary Native youth. In addition, the post-World War II reversals of termination and relocation, plus the economic stringency of the Ronald Reagan years have compounded the health difficulties of today's Native youth. Contemporary Native youth face economic deprivation, deteriorating family conditions and the availability of alcohol and other drugs. The overall rate of alcoholism among Natives is two to three times the national average, although the rate varies widely. Cumulatively, these conditions have led to depression and despair among Native youth, reflected in the high rates of suicide that characterize a number of reservation communities. The suicide rate among Natives is at its highest in adolescence and young adulthood, and is the second leading cause of death among adolescents.

It is difficult to separate these aspects of Native communities because they are all interrelated. Drug abuse is related to poverty and joblessness; child abuse is linked with all three; fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) is one result of these conditions, as well. When all are joined in a vicious, destructive circle, the children become the primary victims, their children's children become the eventual victims. If the cycle is to be broken, it must happen now. The potential for change is promising but it must begin without delay. It will require incentive from within Native communities, as well as a partnership with the non-Native community.

A Suquamish woman who testified at the Task Force Hearings in Seattle summarized the challenge:

For generations our people each had a place in their own communities. We must not have throw-away people and throw-away communities. Our children are committing suicide because they have no role. (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Forsman-Boushle, 1990, p. 59)

The societies that have been held together through an intricate network of familial, clan, and other links that bound all with a common sense of purpose and caring have been battered and beaten like abused children. The ties remain but they are greatly weakened. In order for Native children to regain their "role," the traditional bonds must be strengthened. Children need to grow up with a sense of security, which emerges from knowing what their system is and where they belong in it. A principal at a Chippewa school phrased the challenge eloquently: "Dysfunctional families are producing dysfunctional learners. The extended family has always been a strength for Indian people ... as we see a deterioration in the American family," he noted, "we are also seeing a disintegration of the Indian family. This is due to the environmental factors of unemployment and alcohol and drugs." His conclusion echoed that of the Suquamish: "We have many children who are in emotional pain and are angry. They end up being suspended, expelled from school, and 'thrown away'" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, 1990, Waukau-Villagomez, written testimony, p. 4).

In the fall of 1989 a news team from NBC Nightly News taped some footage at Pine Ridge reservation. According to Tim Giago, editor of *The Lakota Times*, the resulting news clip portrayed "every negative thing they had ever misconceived about the Pine Ridge Reservation." Giago agreed that some of the story was true: "There is alcoholism, fetal alcohol syndrome, welfare, and plenty of unemployment." But NBC's news team missed the point: "the situation is not hopeless," argued Giago. Moreover, he apologized because he did not have enough room in his column "to write about all of the wonderful Lakota people fighting gallantly to turn the negatives on the reservation into positives. They go about their tasks without fanfare," he explained, "but the programs they have initiated are having an impact."

In his praise for the Lakota, Giago included an aspect of this movement for change that has become a recurring theme among Native communities in the late twentieth century. Observing that there are many people on the reservation not

on welfare, he added, "there are also many people who have turned back to the traditional spirituality of the Lakota and have forsaken alcohol and drugs." Giago's observation could be applied to many Native communities, in rural and reservation and urban areas. In the fall of 1988 the Cheyenne River Sioux passed a tribal resolution that established the year 2000 as a target date for the reservation to be 100 percent drug and alcohol free, and incorporated a series of measures to make this a reality. In the spring of 1989 over 900 runners participated in the Standing Rock Sobriety Run to help fellow members overcome alcohol and drug abuse. At the run, Virgil Taken Alive, a Standing Rock tribal councilman, sang a song that told of the difficult road traveled by many of the Lakota people:

- Look up to the skies and take courage,
- the people will have pity for one another.
- We know how hard life is,
- the people will have compassion for one another.
- We know how life is hard. (*Lakota Times*, May 9, 1989)

Native communities are becoming increasingly aware of the potential catastrophe to their people if these threats to the health of their children are not lessened. At the hearing held in Seattle, a Brule from the Rosebud Sioux Tribe testified on the severity of FAS and Fetal Alcohol Effect (FAE). He said: "I am convinced that we have two generations, meaning to your children's children, to halt FAS and FAE among our Indian people or we will cease to exist as Indians" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Ferron, 1990, p. 38). The impact of FAS has been likened to that of smallpox epidemics that destroyed as much as 80 percent of some Native groups in the past. In response to this challenge, many Native governments and other Native organizations have developed programs to fight substance abuse. In the summer of 1990, when Fort Berthold Community College received a grant from a private foundation to promote sobriety "through cultural Traditions and Elder Wellness," it announced that it would select six elder spokespersons to represent each of the three Native peoples: Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara. These Elders would receive intensive training on the effect of alcoholism on families, and would help to develop materials for the program. I would urge all Native governments or groups within reservation communities to establish centers and programs that provide healing for children and

youth who are victims of substance abuse. Moreover, I would also urge that these be established within a framework of the culture of the people.

This is not a new idea; many centers of this type are already in place. Some of them are located on reservations; some are adjacent to reservations. I urge, however, that the number be expanded to encompass virtually every Native community that faces this threat. In addition, I urge Native communities to establish programs both in the schools and in the communities to teach wellness within the context of the Native culture. The Lac Court Oreilles Ojibwe are facing this challenge. They note: "Today, a breakdown of the extended family unit along with a de-emphasis on cultural traditions is very evident ... and the role of the Elders has been diminished in the community. As a result, the community is weakened and traditional cultural beliefs, values, and Ojibwe language are not being passed on to children and families ... as they were in the past" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Benton, 1990, p. 63). In order to counter the tremendous problems facing their people, they have created two programs. One is the "Lac Court Oreilles ADDA project, an alcohol and drug intervention, prevention program which addresses problems targeted in Indian families"; the other is the Three Fires Mide Lodge, a "traditional, spiritual, education, preservation society, which is part of an international (United States and Canada) network to retrieve, preserve, and maintain all facets of the spiritual, cultural heritage of Ojibwe Indian people." On the Rosebud reservation, concerned Lakota women formed the White Buffalo Calf Society in the late 1970s. The society came into being because the founders wanted to improve the position of women, especially in terms of domestic violence. It has developed several programs and runs a shelter which was opened in 1980 and is widely used. In the interim years, however, the society has expanded its role, in accordance with its belief that "the strengths and power of a race of people are only as strong as the family within it ... Growth and progress ... cannot be achieved on the reservation while some are ill, hungry, or powerless because of being homeless, jobless, or poorly educated in life-coping skills" (*Akwesasne Notes*, October 17, 1989).

Relying on funding from a private foundation and the Oklahoma Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services, two members of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma have developed a project entitled "Cheyenne Visions for 2001." With a goal of drug-free Cheyenne children by the year 2001, the directors are focusing on four

communities suffering from chronic alcoholism for at least two decades. In these communities they have formed a Cheyenne Children's Gourd Dance Clan called "The Circle Keepers." "We tell our children," one of the directors writes, "that they are keepers of the circle ... and that they have a responsibility to keep the circle, ... that which is whole, total, and complete. They learn that their well being is connected to that circle. If they keep the circle they will have a balance of the social, physical, mental, and spiritual dimensions of life." The members must meet four requirements: recite a pledge that they will keep their bodies free of drugs and alcohol; participate in a Sweat Lodge; recite a Cheyenne prayer while in the Sweat Lodge; and, finally, "remain active in the organization and free of gateway drug use." Equally important to this planning is the inclusion of parents, aunts, and uncles. The codirector concludes: "We know the Cheyenne ways and are using these ways to build a strong organization." Programs like these, which include traditions, and depend on parents and families, are relying on the ancient strengths of Native communities. Those reserves are deep; without them, the challenges facing Native communities in rural and reservation areas might remain overwhelming (INAR Northern Plains Regional Public Hearing, Twins, 1990, pp. 75-76).

For urban Native communities, the potential to overcome the enormous difficulties posed by drug and alcohol abuse, dysfunctional families, violence, FAS and FAE, is also strong. Again, however, I urge that this challenge be met through Native concepts of healing. These should be incorporated into the secular medical practices of the non-Native culture. By viewing those who are suffering as whole persons and as members of Native cultures, Natives living in urban America will be drawing on their strengths and their inner resources.

I also urge that urban universities with schools of medicine be encouraged to broaden their curricula to include the attributes of Native healing. This is especially appropriate in urban locations that also include Indian Health Service facilities and/or large Native urban populations.

The Indian Health Service, however, is severely limited as a medical resource for Native people. As the United States Senate Special Committee on Investigations pointed out in its 1989 *Final Report and Legislative Recommendations*, according to its Director, Dr. Everett R. Rhoades:

At one billion dollars per year, the budget of the Indian Health Service has held constant in real terms for the last decade. As the Indian population has expanded, and medical costs have risen faster than the overall

cost of living, fiscal restraint has turned IHS into a health care rationing agency.

In typical metropolitan areas, one doctor serves about 500 people; an IHS physician serves about 1,400 Natives. Moreover, Natives living in urban areas received even less care than those on reservations or in rural areas. The 1980 census figures indicated that just over 50 percent of all Native people lived in urban areas. The health status of these urban Natives is as low or lower than that of reservation Natives, according to Jerilyn DeCoteau. Nonetheless, as DeCoteau points out, in the mid-1980s the federal budget for urban Native health programs was only one percent of the total IHS budget. One percent of the budget, therefore, was expected to serve the needs of over 50 percent of the Native population. Inadequate funding, compounded by the general administrative mismanagement revealed by the Senate Special Committee on Investigations suggests the federal government is not carrying out its trust obligations in the area of health, and needs to provide adequate funding and accountability for the IHS.

Wherever there are committed Natives in urban areas, they should be encouraged to form centers or shelters for Native youth who suffer from some of the many dilemmas described in this section. A fine example of such an effort is the shelter for Native Youth founded in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1984. Currently directed by a Sisseton-Wahpeton woman, this center deals with crisis situations met by many Native youth in urban areas. The proposal for Native people to deal with these challenges through their own cultural values is summarized by a member of the Prairie Band Potawatomi-Kickapoo Tribe, who recently received her master's degree from Kansas University with a major in Social Welfare. Hoping to work for an agency that helps Native people, she said, "Native Americans need to start making a difference for themselves. I think Indian people have a lot of strengths that we don't realize." She added: "Sometimes my Elders tease me about what I've learned in school." "What did I learn?" she asked. "That everything they've been telling me is right: Think positive, not negative."

Positive thinking by individuals such as this recent M.A. student, and positive "wellness" programs developed by Native communities, such as the Zuni Wellness Center, a program developed in 1987 "to curb the prevalence of diabetes in Zuni by changing lifestyles to include exercise [about one-third of Zuni adults develop diabetes]," and Native adaptations of Alcoholics Anonymous, both within reservation and rural communities and urban communities — all of these suggest that

many Native communities are addressing these issues. They are reaching within, and finding resources.

Cultural Heritage in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

If Native children know who they are and where they come from, their schooling will take on a different cast. Moreover, if the school experience supports their unique cultural heritage, Native children will be able to find a secure place for themselves. Child abuse comes in many forms but one of the most severe is denial or neglect of children's cultural heritage. As a pervasive dimension of American history, this form of abuse has damaged generations of American Indian and Alaska Native youth. In the early 1980s Valda Black Bull, a Lakota, recalled a childhood dominated by her grandmother: "We were raised in a basically white community ... But this never bothered my grandma. We would sit outside and she would sing in Lakota to us and tell us stories that always had meaning to them. We never spoke English; it was always Lakota ... Life skills taught by my grandmother put me through the primary grades." Black Bull's grandmother also put the school experience into a Lakota perspective:

We had a 3rd-grade teacher who was prejudiced and did she ever show it. She grouped the three of us Indians in a corner and worked with us after school ... She hit our hands if we spoke Lakota ... I was afraid to attend school and my mother always pushed me to go. My grandma referred to this teacher as a witch and this made it a lot easier for me to handle the situation. This was my first contact with the evils of the world. But I survived.

At the San Diego Special Issues Session on Dropout Prevention, a Native woman from Tacoma, Washington, reported that in the public school her children attended "teachers still make fun of children's Indian names" (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Dropout Prevention, San Diego, p. 3). Ivan Star Comes Out reported in *The Lakota Times* (October 3, 1989) that he heard a white female teacher stand in a room full of Lakota students and say "If it wasn't for our white technology, you wouldn't have this school and you would be nothing."

It is time to reverse this trend. A Chickasaw who teaches at the University of Alaska — Fairbanks put it more succinctly when he said: "we need to 'Indianize' Indian Education. We need to Indianize the philosophy, the texts, the ap-

proaches, the methods, the content, ... " (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Hampton, 1990, p. 34) This theme has dominated the Task Force Hearings, from Juneau, Alaska to Cherokee, North Carolina. It represents the accumulated grievance of generations of Native children who have attended schools and moved in a society that gave no credence to their beliefs, their values, their cultures. Today, they speak for change. A Red Lake Ojibwe concluded: "Until the learning environment feels like a family or a clan, the Indian student will not be engaged" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Nerburn, 1990, p. 18).

Director of Education for the Fairbanks Native Association testified:

The number one barrier to learning is a lack of self-esteem ... No matter what kind of problems a child has in his or her background, the solution begins with building self-esteem. In Alaska, this includes validating a child's culture, his roots and his heritage (INAR Alaska Regional Public Hearing, Armstrong, 1990, p. 29).

In 1988 the community of Chevak, a village in the Yukon Kuskowim Delta, responded to the absence of subsistence training for children in school with a creative program. Designed to overcome gaps in the current schooling, where the children were being trained "to be aliens in their own land," the community began to build two traditional subterranean sod houses which would be used to house small groups of students for five-day periods in January and February. During the sessions six Elders would teach stories and legends, survival, trapping and subsistence skills, and rules of the family. The youth would dress in traditional clothing and would not use any "modern equipment." (*Tundra Times*, September 1, 1988) Echoing this concept, several Ojibwe who spoke at the opening of the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe School in September 1990, stressed the link between culture and self-worth. Rick St. Germain, well-known Ojibwe leader, urged that they "work on a student's identity and raising his self-esteem through traditional culture and values." "More to the point," the new administrator of the school added, "is 'walking into a classroom and in one corner you see a drum, and in another corner, a computer. Each of these is a very useful tool.'" In a similar vein, a teacher at the high school in Tuba City, in the Navajo Nation, told his students in 1989 that knowing who they were was as important as learning English and math and science. "You do not have to make a choice between being Indian and being successful," he said. "You can be both. You can be of two minds. In fact, you must be both" (*Los Angeles Times*, July 28, 1989).

In Native rural and reservation communities Tribally Controlled Colleges are contributing to the need for teaching youth about their cultural heritage. The oldest of these colleges, Navajo Community College (NCC) has developed an extensive program in Navajo culture. Sinte Gleska College, which was founded shortly after NCC, has also pioneered in this area. Like NCC, its publications have been widely dispersed for educational and community use. Its faculty have participated in creating an orthography of the Lakota language. Again, like NCC, Sinte Gleska has worked with traditional medicine men to incorporate their teachings into the curriculum and into western medical practices. These and other Tribally Controlled Colleges exemplify the importance of Native institutions based in rural and reservation communities. They play a crucial role in cultural reinforcement from within.

The Tribally Controlled Colleges cannot complete this task unaided: the ground work must be laid in the education of the very young. Teachers employed in reservation and rural schools with significant proportions of Native students must be trained to be culturally sensitive to the needs of the children they teach. Over fifty years after Willard Beatty introduced this concept in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, the need remains urgent. Beatty's program was a historical anachronism that now is coming into its own, at the urging of American Indians and Alaska Natives. This issue requires two changes. The first is to train non-Native teachers, the second is to encourage more Native youth to become teachers and return to their own communities.

In the first area, the training of non-Native teachers, no Native people are more adamant on this issue than Alaska Natives. The President of the Board of Lower Kuskowim School District in western Alaska testified that the Yupik (90 percent of the students in this school district are Yupik) are asking that schools begin to accommodate Native cultures, values, history, and language. "We want our teachers to learn to know our students and to respect their culture. We recommend that our teachers take Yupik language, and we provide inservice training to introduce them to our culture" (INAR Alaska Regional Public Hearing, Vaska, 1990, p. 2). The message from Alaska is being repeated throughout Native communities from Lakota to Navajo. In areas such as Oklahoma, where language loss is far greater than Alaska, a particular concern is language retention. An Osage Tribal Historian said, "Today we are struggling to maintain our heritage, culture, and Indian way of life ... the language of our people is dying." Urging

that there be "positive role models" for Native students, she asked for "teachers and administrators who are Native American and know the Indian way of life ... teachers who will counsel students and know their problems ... teachers who will place the Indian students ... [and] schools [that will] ask the community for advice, and respect the advice given by the tribal Elders" (INAR Plains Regional Public Hearings, Alred, 1990, p. 34). By contrast, in regions like Alaska, where villages are isolated, teachers receive high salaries and demonstrate little commitment. They "have no conception of what Alaska is about," and they do not remain long enough to find out.

For these reasons, Natives urge that more Native youth be encouraged to become teachers, and that the community be more fully involved in the schools' programs. The need for more Natives in teaching is urgent. A well-known Native educator in Washington State points out that the "teacher education institutions have lost the momentum that they had during the 1970s for educating and certifying Indian teachers" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Bill, 1990, p. 19). An exemplary program at this time included cooperation between the Navajo Nation and the Universities of New Mexico, Northern Arizona, and Arizona. A Navajo who teaches in the College of Education at the University of New Mexico reports that the University of New Mexico's participation in this program enabled 400 Navajo students to receive their bachelors degrees in elementary education. During the 1980s the funding for these programs dried up; nor has it been forthcoming in the present administration (INAR Southwest Regional Public Hearing, Bradley-Pfeiffer, p. 48). A decade without funding has led to a drastic shortage of Native teachers. The Yakima superintendent of a school district on the Yakima Nation reservation put it graphically when he wrote: "One way to deal with these barriers [relevant Indian education] is to look at the fact that we know our children need good role models. Yet we advertise a position and get up to 70 applicants only to find that none are from Indians." The Yakima superintendent added: "This suggests to me that the programs to support the training of Indian teachers [are] ineffective." He asked that the Task Force "look at programs to get more Indian teachers into the schools to work with our children" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Hoptowit, 1990, p. 60).

The responsibility for this change lies with Native governments, with universities, with federal funding, and with states. Native governments need to provide further incentive for their college-edu-

cated students to return to the reservations and rural areas. Universities need to re-establish the types of programs that contributed so heavily to Native teacher training in the 1970s. The federal government needs to make a commitment to these programs through congressional appropriations. The states, in response to urgent requests by Native people from Alaska to North Carolina, need to permit Native communities and Native governments to establish their own criteria for teacher certification which will incorporate unique talents such as knowledge of Native culture and/or Native languages. The legal stumbling blocks that prevent Native schools from employing the talents of these skilled teachers should be removed. In support of this change, a member of the Alaska State Board of Education testified: "A way to increase Native teachers in the classroom is to relax the requirements for teacher certification. If one's life vocation is to clothe one's family with furs and properly care for Native food, isn't he or she an expert in that field?" She concluded, "Can you with your teaching degree do that?" (INAR Alaska Regional Public Hearing, Sakeagak, 1990, p. 12).

In addition to encouraging more Native teachers, communities also are urging greater participation by Native Elders and other members of the community. Parent and Elder participation is seen as virtually a universal need by Native people. Many Native governments are already developing programs that incorporate these community members. The Yakima Nation is currently revising its curriculum for the Yakima Tribal School in order "to recognize the role of the Elders." The 1990 Ojibwe Elder honoree at the Honor the Earth Powwow (Wisconsin) is not only a grandmother of ten, she has also worked at an Ojibwe Day Care Center. Other Native communities report that Elders participate in their school programs as valuable assets for the children. They can teach language, as well as culture, bringing a sense of security for the grandchildren. It is possible, as a number of Natives have suggested, that eventually the Native languages may be universally recognized as "foreign languages," and that the requirements for language in high schools and universities can be satisfied by Native students perfecting the language of their own people. Already mandated in states such as Minnesota, this, in itself, would give credence to Native culture, reiterating the contributions of Native languages during both World War I and World War II, when several Native languages, and especially the Navajo used by the Navajo Code Talkers, enabled the United States Armed Forces to communicate effectively in both the South Pacific and Europe.

Participation of parents is also urged by Native people in both the rural and reservation communities and urban Native communities. A member of the Alaska State Legislature testified in Juneau that "parent support is the single, most important factor in a child's success at school" (INAR Alaska Regional Public Hearing, Ulmer, 1990, p. 8). This sentiment has been echoed across the country, but here, again, the challenges are greater because of the heritage of boarding schools and other non-Native dominated schooling, where today's parents were led to believe that their cultures should be abandoned, their languages, forgotten. As adults, it is difficult for these former boarding school students to overcome the pressures that they experienced as children. Even today, many non-Native school administrators and teachers are capable of exerting subtle psychological pressure against Native parents to discourage their participation. Native testimony in the San Diego Hearings recalled that the receptionist's position at a federal boarding school was raised about a foot higher in elevation than that of the students and parents who approached, and that this obvious psychological advantage was an effective deterrent, even to a parent who was a college graduate. These barriers add to the historical difficulties faced by Native parents, but they must be overcome (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Parental Involvement, San Diego, p. 29).

Urban Native communities are approaching the issue of strengthening Native cultural heritage in public schools in creative ways. In Buffalo, New York, and in Minnesota, urban magnet schools are underway. These schools provide an option for Native students and parents who reject schooling that does not acknowledge Native values and traditions. As the chairperson of the Indian Parent Committee in Minneapolis, a school district with almost 3,000 Native pupils, put it: "American Indians are tribal people. Our social system, cultural values, and interdependence have been essential to our survival in the face of systematic attempts to exterminate us. Successful Indian education programs affirm this tribal membership, and use group approaches and a culturally relevant curriculum to help Indian students survive the gauntlet of the majority educational system" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Beaulieu, J., 1990, p. 30). He concluded: "because of the tribal nature of Indian students, they need to be gathered together to survive in a non-Indian system." The Native school established under the American Indian Magnet Program of St. Paul, Minnesota, was modeled after the first of these schools, The Native American Magnet School in

Buffalo, founded in 1976. Scheduled to open in the fall of 1990, it could have profound impact on St. Paul's 900 Native pupils, who are about three percent of the school-age population. Anticipating success, the St. Paul Superintendent of Schools testified, "I believe that over the long haul, this magnet program will have a major impact on improving the performance of Indian students in our district and in lowering their dropout rate" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Bennett, 1990, p. 66).

This dropout, or "pushout" rate of Native students in urban areas is a well-documented phenomenon. Attributed to a number of factors, including economic conditions and health, as mentioned earlier, it also is a reflection of a general ignorance of Native cultures by virtually all non-Native educators. Criticism of this phenomenon is growing among Native peoples throughout the United States. Coordinator of Indian Education for Guilford County (North Carolina) Schools reports conditions for Native students in these schools:

The same problem that was here 400 years ago still remains: the lack of concern and the inability to understand the Native American and our needs, especially when it comes to education. Every day I hear the same things from Indian students. 'This teacher hates me. This school has nothing to offer me ...' Indian students feel that their schools have nothing to offer them.

In accordance with this conclusion, many Native educators and parents believe that all non-Native teachers should be trained to be culturally sensitive to Native students (INAR Eastern Regional Public Hearing, Lowry, 1990, p. 29). When I spoke with a Native educator from North Carolina at the San Diego conference, I asked her if she had one wish to improve Native education in her state, what would it be? She replied that it would be to require that all non-Native educators learn about Native cultures. This change must be incorporated by colleges of education across the United States, and should be mandated throughout school systems in the country. Teachers and other educators need to understand the strengths of American Indians and Alaska Natives.

In accordance with this change, schools must also incorporate Native culture and history into their curricula. There is virtually no knowledge of Native heritage and the contributions of Native people to the history of the United States and North America. Moreover, where this information is included, it is often inaccurate or demeaning to Native people. This is a national travesty, which is supported by all forms of contemporary media. At

the San Diego Joint Issues Session on Middle Schools and High Schools, a Hupa testified on these inaccuracies:

The worst example I have seen was where they had listed all of the foods Indians ever contributed — corn, avocados, strawberries, and so forth — but they didn't have acorns. Now, acorns are a staple and very important to my tribe and my kids asked me why acorns weren't on the list. I said, 'because they aren't important to white people.' The teacher said that 'only pigs and deer eat acorns.' I have two children so this means that one of them must be a pig and one must be a deer, because that is what we do. (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Middle and High School Issues, San Diego, p. 6)

Relationship between Native Communities and the Outside World

The schooling experience of Native children is often weakened by the gap that separates the school from Native families and communities. This gap is widened even further by the relationship between Native communities and the outside world. In these two areas of challenge, I would recommend that in rural and reservation communities there be much more extensive cooperation between the above-mentioned groups and the schools; and in the urban Native communities, there be a vast campaign to educate the non-Native public about Native cultures and history.

Native families in rural and reservation communities need to be drawn into the school system. The reliance on parents and Elders must increase in order for the children to view their schools as an extension of the cultural bonds that they are taught from early childhood. Natives across the country are lamenting the lack of participation by Elders. At the Joint Issues Special Session for Elders in San Diego, one Native testified, "We have to go back into our schools, bring these Elders to teach the children what the plants are, what the days mean, what the water is for. There is little respect anymore. We need to utilize our Elders" (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Special Issue Session for Elders, San Diego, 1990, p. 9). Native youth have begun to echo this theme. At the 1990 Elder/Youth convention in Alaska, one Native 17-year-old described the role of Elders: "The Elders are like schools — they are learning centers. They want to pass on what they had learned to us, so in turn we pass it on to our children and youth ... it is wise to listen," he concluded, "for we are the future leaders of our great people" (*The Council*,

March 13, 1990). Like the Elders, parents also have a role to play in the schools. By participating in school programs, they, too, extend the bonds of the family. As a Lummi testified to the United States Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs (April 9, 1987): "Our success will depend, ultimately on the well being of the individual and the family ... Lummi family bonds are the foundation of the tribal community."

In like manner, Native governments are reconsidering their roles as policy makers for their education systems. Faced with the responsibility of appropriate schooling for a group that is often over 50 percent of their total population, they need to address the issues that have been raised here. In a project sponsored by the College Entrance Examination Board and the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES), some 150 Natives met in regional gatherings held in 1987-1988 to discuss educational changes for Native youth. The final report, *Our Voices, Our Vision: American Indians Speak Out for Education Excellence*, called for Native community action to "spearhead drives for educational change." The report urged that "tribal members ... elect tribal officials willing to adopt education codes that mandate the incorporation of tribal language and culture into the curricula of local schools." The participants also concluded that "tribal governments have the power to become active partners with Indian parents and school districts in educational reform and community initiatives ... tribes must pass resolutions setting education as a priority." One means of expressing this commitment is shifting Native government funds, where possible, to allow for greater numbers of scholarships for their youth. The participants concurred: "Tribal councils must assist students by establishing scholarship and summer-work projects." Moreover, Native governments should offer incentives to encourage scholarship recipients to return to their reservation and rural communities after they receive their schooling. The participants noted: "they [tribal councils] should also encourage college students to return home after graduation."

Finally, Native governments bear a strong responsibility for ensuring cooperation among the three government entities that affect education for Native children: federal, State and Native. The final report of the Indian Education Project, *Indian Education. Involvement of Federal, State and Tribal Governments*, which was sponsored by the Education Commission of the States and appeared in 1980, made a number of strong recommendations for Native governments' role in education.

While some of these concurred with the later report sponsored by the College Board and AISES, the Indian Education Project also called for an increased role by Native governments in educating local, State and federal governments with regards to Native community schooling needs. "Since it is possible that state policy makers do not always know what Indian tribes expect from the school system," the authors reasoned, "tribes should make a conscious effort through their own needs assessment instruments, through seminars and personal dialogue, through written tribal codes, philosophies and policy statements, legislative testimony ..., and through other methods, to make sure that state policy makers are fully informed about tribal concerns that affect the education of Indian children." This does not relieve the burden from other entities but it does suggest that "tribes need to become informed about the procedure and issues at the state legislative and policy level." As indicated in this study, as well as in the "Summary of Data Availability on American Indians and Alaska Natives in Ten States," an unpublished document submitted to the commissioned paper authors, progress in the States *vis-a-vis* Native schooling has been uneven but State awareness of native priorities is increasing.

Addressing the issues facing urban Native people, the dialogue participants in the College Board and AISES study recommended that urban Natives establish "culturally based programs for combating alcohol and substance abuse, health problems, teenage pregnancy, and other problems confronting their youth, relying on Native centers, churches, and organizations as collective strength" for developing these programs. Urban Natives also have a responsibility to publicize their cultures to the non-Native population. Many urban Natives are already actively engaged in lecturing and speaking to public schools and the general public, as well, but I would urge that this commitment be more widespread. The general public is so ignorant about Native people in the United States, a massive campaign will perhaps only make a dent in the dearth of knowledge and multitude of misconceptions. One of the most detrimental stereotypes of Native people has been created by the mass media: film, television, and print. Native children read about themselves in textbooks and elsewhere; they see themselves portrayed in film and television. The resulting negative image leads to long-term harmful psychological effects. Compounded with poverty and unemployment, all of these phenomena contribute to the high drop-out rate and drug abuse among these Native urban students. Even sports team mascots have been main-

tained by schools with blatant disregard as to how these caricatures affect Native children. In the Great Lakes area Natives have led a long-term fight against the use of Native images as mascots, but progress is slow.

Urban universities can and should strengthen the ties between Native and non-Native students in order to provide more self-esteem for Native students and to educate the non-Native students about the values and traditions of Native people. Universities can also reach out to Native students in both urban and rural and reservation communities. These institutions can expand programs that already exist at places such as Colorado State University, Northern Arizona University, and the University of Northern Iowa. These programs introduce Native students to the intricacies of academic life through summer sessions and other special seminars for prospective university students from Native communities. There is a wide gap separating urban post-secondary institutions and Native people living in rural and reservation communities and it should be the responsibility of these institutions to lessen this gap and to tap into the tremendous strength of potential American Indian and Alaska Native students. Where possible, universities should also encourage faculty who write textbooks that concern Native people, whether in history, literature, sociology, economics, or other disciplines, to incorporate accurate and sympathetic portrayals of those cultures and their role in the history of this country. As the participants in the College Board and AISES study concluded: "institutions of higher learning must become key partners in Indian education reform initiatives."

Conclusion

In the late 1980s one Native writer synthesized the thrust of this paper in a single sentence: "The ownership of this whole program has to be brought back to the Native people." The concept that it is time to "Indianize" Indian education can be expanded to incorporate the major issues discussed here: economic conditions, health, cultural heritage, and the relationships between families, communities, Native governments, and their schools, as well as the relationships between Native people and the outside entities, both governments and the population as a whole. Native governments bear a heavy responsibility in each of these areas, as do Native families and communities. But equal burden-bearers are state and federal government entities, as well as institutions of higher learning, businesses and private foundations. The historic role of the federal government

has been an ambivalent one at best. Historians of the twenty-first century, both Native and non-Native, may well rank the 1980s and the Reagan administration as one of the weakest decades of the twentieth century, in terms of the federal government accepting its responsibilities toward Native people. But the American non-Native public, under the influence of the media, also has contributed heavily to the conditions described in this paper. Native people have survived these five centuries, but their children are at risk today, perhaps more than any earlier time in these five hundred years. Their survival will demand a strong commitment by Native governments, families and communities; by federal dollars and well-managed programs geared to Native needs; by other governments, including the States; and by the media. The recent film *Dances with Wolves* is a promising beginning for future changes in the media. Other solutions and signs of promise have been related in the foregoing narrative.

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About the Author

MARGARET CONNELL SZASZ was born near the confluence of the Snake and Columbia Rivers in the then-small town of Pasco, Washington. She lived in the Northwest until the late 1960s, when she moved to New Mexico. After writing her master's thesis (at the University of Washington) on the Yakima Indian Nation, she turned to the field of Native education. In the last two decades she published two of a proposed three-volume study on the history of Native education in the United States: *Education and the American Indian, The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928* and *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783*. Jerry Ingram (Choctaw) illustrated the covers for both of these volumes. One of her recent articles on Native American history is "Listening to the Voice: American Indian Schooling in the Twentieth Century," which appeared in *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*. Currently she is editing a volume of essays on cultural brokers for the University of Oklahoma Press.

An Associate Professor of History and Regents Lecturer at the University of New Mexico, she teaches courses on American Indian and Alaska Native history. She is married to Ferenc M. Szasz, Professor of History at UNM, and they have three children.

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